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Art in Social Movements: Shantytown Women's Protest in Pinochet's Chile

Jacqueline Adams[1]

How social movements use art is an understudied question in the social movements literature. Ethnographic research on the use of art by the prodemocracy movement in Pinochet's Chile suggests that art plays a very important role in social movements, which use it for framing, to attract resources, to communicate information about themselves, to foster useful emotions, and as a symbol (for communicating a coherent identity, marking membership, and cementing commitment to the movement).

KEY WORDS: art; social movements; Latin America; women; democratization.

INTRODUCTION

Activists know that art[2] is important for their movements, yet social movement scholars have paid little attention to this topic. Many movements use art, and movement art comes in many forms: Chicano posters in the Chicano movement, gospel singing in the Civil Rights Movement, the Statue of Democracy in the Chinese students' democracy movement of 1989, and folk music in the Free Speech Movement, for example. Social movement analysts should examine art not only because it is pervasive in many movements, but also because it is instrumental in the achievement of a movement's objectives.

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[2]For the purposes of this paper "art" refers to representations of reality or an idea, created with a consideration for aesthetic conventions. It includes music, the plastic arts, theater, and art posters.

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This paper attempts to answer the understudied question of the role of art in social movements. To do so, it examines the case of the use of art by the protest movement against Pinochet in Chile. Its main finding is that movements can use art to carry out framing work, mobilize resources, communicate information about themselves, and, finally as a symbol of the movement. Art arouses emotions in people, useful in all these functions. By examining art in movements, not only will we understand how movements use art; we will also learn more about how framing and resource mobilization are carried out; why emotion, an ethos, and name recognition are important in movements; and what movements look like "on the ground."[3]

THE STATE OF KNOWLEDGE

Analysts of social movements have tended to neglect the subject of art, apart from in very few cases (Eder *et al.*, 1995; Eyerman and Jamison, 1995, 1998; Jasper, 1997; Staggenborg *et al.*, 1993). If art is mentioned at all, it tends to be mentioned tangentially, in articles and books that focus on other topics (e.g. Jasper, 1998; Morris, 1984).

Because art plays an important role in two important movement processes (framing and resource mobilization), and because a focus on art provides us with insights into these processes, the focus of the literature review is on these processes. After a discussion of the work on framing and resource mobilization, I turn to the literature on art and politics, drawing from a variety of different disciplines. The social movement scholars who engage with art are integrated into this section.

Framing

Different schools within the social movements literature emphasize different aspects of what a movement must do to exist and be successful. Research in the last 10 years has stressed the importance of framing. Movements are "actively engaged in the production of meaning for participants, antagonists, and observers . . . They *frame*, or assign meaning to and interpret, relevant events and conditions in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists" (Snow and Benford, 1988:198). Movements, say Snow and

[3]I recognize that I could frame the arpillera as a cultural object, using it as a starting point to reflect on the relationship of culture, structure, and agency. Interesting work in this area has been done by Alexander (1992), Swidler (1986), and Sewell (1992). However, due to space limitations, I have chosen not to do this here. The data presented here could be used to investigate the important sociological question of the production and contestation of meaning. However, again space and the focus of this paper do not permit consideration of this issue.

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Benford (1988), have three core framing tasks: (1) Diagnosis of some event or aspect of social life as problematic; (2) Proposed solution; and (3) Call to arms or rationale for engaging in corrective action.

Framing is crucial for movement success because movements "confront an established political environment composed of a number of critically important constituent publics with very different interests vis-à-vis the movement. Just how successfully the movement and its carrier social movement organizations (SMOs) negotiate the conflicting demands imposed by these established constituents will largely determine the ultimate fate of the struggle. And, in seeking to manage the demands of this highly fluid and often hostile environment, the principal weapon available to the movement is its strategic use of framing processes. That is, in trying to attract and shape media coverage, win the support of bystander publics, constrain movement opponents, and influence state authorities, insurgents depend first and foremost on various forms of signifying work" (McAdam, 1996:340). Analysts who focus on framing (e.g. Benford, 1993; Gamson *et al.*, 1979; Hunt and Benford, 1994; Snow *et al.*, 1997; Snow and Benford, 1992) also suggest that framing is vital for attracting participants. It is important not just that the structural conditions be ripe for collective action, but that a critical mass of people collectively define the situation as ripe and persuade others on an ongoing basis that their version of reality rings true (Benford and Hunt, 1992).

The framing approach is a corrective to theories that depict social movements as the inevitable by-products of expanding political opportunities, emerging system-level contradictions or dislocations (some versions of new social movement theories), or newly available resources (resource mobilization), as McAdam (1996) points out. The notion of framing also draws attention to the fact that mobilization and ongoing collective action are accomplishments, even in the context of favorable environmental conditions. Finally, it focuses attention on what has been a neglected topic in the study of social movements: the everyday activities of movement participants.

Despite these positive aspects, the framing literature has several serious shortcomings.[4] This literature, with the possible exception of Benford (1993) and McCarthy *et al.* (1996), tells us little about *how* movements do their framing work, and specifically, what vehicles they use for framing (what I will term framing devices). Do they newsletters? Talking to crowds from a stage? Leaflets? Posters? How do they decide what devices to use? Which

[4] What follows is a critique of those parts of the framing literature that are of relevance to this paper. The same will be done for resource mobilization. For further critiques on the framing perspective, please see McAdam (1996), McCarthy *et al.* (1996), and Benford (1997); for critiques on the resource mobilization perspective see Lo (1992), Piven and Cloward (1992), Zald (1992), and McCarthy and Zald (1977).

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are most effective? How do the political and economic context and gender of the audience and activists affect the choice and nature of the device?

A second shortcoming of the framing literature is its conception of framing work as involving cognitive processes in those at whom the framing efforts are directed; people *think about* the movement's ideas, and then decide, rationally, to support the movement. The work done on framing focuses almost exclusively on *ideas* and their formal expression by movement actors. In actual fact, framing can be achieved as the result of emotional, rather than ideological, processes.

A third problem with the framing literature is that it says little about nonverbal mechanisms of framing work. It focuses mainly on speeches, writings, statements, or other formal ideological pronouncements by movement actors (McAdam, 1996:341). Two authors have tried to remedy this but they remain exceptions. McAdam (1996) suggests that the *actions* and tactics (particularly of the sort that send the message of threat embodied in the movement) adopted by insurgents are a critically important contribution to the overall signifying work of the movement. Szasz (1994) suggests that images are important in framing, and that increasingly, it is through images that political communication, the production of meaning, and the making of issues are accomplished. He uses the concept of "political icon" to describe the kind of political communication that depends on images rather than words. The icons in his case study are stereotyped and emotionally charged television images and photographs on the theme of toxic waste: haphazard piles of broken, leaking 55 gallon drums, cleanup crews encased in protective safety gear, boarded up and abandoned homes, distraught and angry people. Icons help create grievances (1994:84): "the attitudinal effect of what I have been calling *icon formation* was that any sudden discovery that one was living, or might be made to live, in the proximity of toxic waste would be experienced as a serious worsening of one's condition and as a deeply felt grievance." Icons and actions are certainly important nonverbal mechanisms of the framing process, but there are others, and they work differently in different political contexts.

Resource Mobilization

In the seventies and eighties, the dominant social movement research paradigm emphasized the importance of resource mobilization for movement success[5] (Gamson, 1975; Jenkins and Perrow, 1977; Lipsky, 1968;

[5]In reaction to previous thinking, the resource mobilization literature suggests that there is little correlation between variations in relative deprivation and *when* collective protest occurs; there is always discontent in society. It assumes that deprivation and grievances are

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McCarthy and Zald, 1973; Snyder and Tilly, 1972; Tilly, 1978). One branch of the resource mobilization approach focuses on the mobilizing processes and formal organizational manifestations of these processes. According to this analysis, movements are known by and become a force of social change through the SMOs they spawn. Another branch of the analysis takes the emphasis off formal organizations and documents the critical role of grassroots settings-work, neighborhood, and the church in facilitating collective action (Morris, 1984). Both branches examine "the variety of resources that must be mobilized, the linkages of social movements to other groups, the dependence of movements upon external support for success, and the tactics used by authorities to control or incorporate movements" (McCarthy and Zald, 1977:1213). Both contain rationalistic assumptions built into their models (they often assume, implicitly, that those who engage in collective action weigh costs and benefits before doing so). These assumptions are problematic; while many people do carry out rational, cost–benefit calculations about whether or not to engage in collective action, many do not. Emotions and friendships draw people into collective action, often irrationally.

The resources that the literature mentions include money, land, labor, technical expertise (Tilly, 1978), facilities, legitimacy (McCarthy and Zald, 1977), people's time (Oliver and Marwell, 1992), authority, skills, habits of industry (Oberschall, 1973), "active commitment, courage and imagination" (Koopmans, 1992), "knowledge, frames, skills, and technical tools" (Rucht, 1996), and finally "enthusiasm and spontaneity" (Zald, 1992:330). The aggregation of resources may occur from within the aggrieved group but also from many other sources. While this list represents an impressive array of resources, and while the resource mobilization school has been criticized for including everything under the rubric of resources, two important resources that movements use, and that the literature neglects, are hope and determination.

Of relevance for an examination of the role of art in social movements is *how* movements mobilize resources. Oliver and Marwell (1992) mention several methods: large-donor fund raising, seeking grants and contracts, direct mail solicitation, paid canvassing, telemarketing, payroll check-off plans, religious fund raising, the use of 900 numbers in phone solicitation, fairs, rummage and bake sales, brunches, car washes, walkathons, runathons, bikeathons, (and other –athons), volunteer canvassing and telephoning, raffles, selling items on commission, fairs, and benefit concerts. This list represents a fairly comprehensive range of methods movements use to mobilize resources in democratic contexts. However, these methods have no place in

merely a component, and sometimes only a secondary component, in the generation of social movements.

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authoritarian, oppressive contexts. Where grouping together and expressing opposition can be a cause for imprisonment, people turn to more clandestine methods. The literature has almost nothing to say about resource mobilization methods in such contexts.

A number of problems are common to both the framing and the resource mobilization literatures. First, most of the empirical data in both the resource mobilization and framing literatures[6] come from democratic contexts and relatively well-off countries. This results in theories with only limited applicability in other contexts such as dictatorships. We have just seen the limits of this approach in resource mobilization. Similarly, the framing literature tells us almost nothing about framing work in nondemocratic contexts. Second, there are a number of ancillary aspects of movements that neither literature analyzes in depth: the need movements have for symbols, and for labels giving them coherence, the importance of an ethos, and the importance of markers of membership in the movement. Third, related to the issue of art, with the exception of Gitlin, 1980; McCarthy *et al.*, 1996; Klandermans and Goslinga, 1996; Zald, 1996; Kielbowicz and Scherer, 1986, and Gamson, 1992, neither literature pays sufficient attention to the role of the media in a movement's success, particularly the movement's own media.

The Literature on Art and Political Power

Although the role of art is a neglected question within the social movements literature, it has been examined by scholars in other fields. These scholars (from philosophy, history, political science, art history, anthropology, and other areas of sociology) have produced numerous insights that are relevant to the Chilean data, and which I will pursue.

An important question within the eclectic literature on art and politics concerns the extent to which art exists in isolation from political life. On one side of the debate are analysts who state that art has political power. Music can unsettle society, Socrates is reported by Plato in *The Republic* as saying (Plato, 1945:115), "The introduction of novel fashions in music is a thing to beware of as endangering the whole fabric of society, whose most important conventions are unsettled by any revolution in that quarter." Art has political power that can support the status quo, act as a safety valve for discontent (and therefore of benefit to the oppressor), or serve as an emancipatory force, challenging dominant institutions, and reinforcing the subversion of existing systems (Pratt, 1992). It can work at an even deeper

[6]Zuo and Benford (1995) are an exception within the framing literature; they analyzed the Chinese students' democracy movement and found that students were able to overcome deficits in organizational and media resources by co-opting extant networks and by developing resonant collective action frames.

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level, shaping our ideas and political behavior (Alpers, 1983; Bonnell, 1997; Chaffe, 1993; Edelman, 1995:2; Eyerman and Jamison, 1998; Jasper, 1997; Luke, 1992; Pratt, 1992:211; Staggenborg *et al.*, 1993–1994; Szombati-Fabian and Fabian, 1976). According to Edelman (1995:2): "Works of art generate the ideas about leadership, bravery, cowardice, altruism, dangers, authority, and fantasies about the future that people typically assume to be reflections of their own observations and reasoning."

At the other extreme in this debate is the idea that art is frivolous, or detached from politics, existing in a sphere of its own (cf. Denisoff, 1983:vii). Between the two extremes is the idea that art merely "reflects" the social order, or political developments (see Albrecht, 1954, for a full treatment of these themes).

A number of scholars have examined art's political power in the context of social movements, suggesting ways that art is useful. First, they suggest that social movements use the medium of artistic expression for communicating with the larger society (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998; Kaplan, 1992; Neustadter, 1992), and for communicating internally. Religious songs in the Civil Rights Movement, for example, served as a communications bridge between the students and other, less-educated blacks, and with outsiders (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998).

Second, art can help mobilize protest (Chaffe, 1993; Denisoff, 1983; Eyerman and Jamison, 1998; Garofalo, 1992b; Pratt, 1992; Qualter, 1963; Sanger, 1997). One way it does so is by raising consciousness in potential recruits and the public (Chaffe, 1993; Denisoff, 1983; Eder *et al.*, 1995; Eyerman and Jamison, 1998; Garofalo, 1992a; Neustadter, 1992; Staggenborg *et al.*, 1993–1994). Performance art (theatrical as well as musical) can be the locus of a debate-like manifestation of political attitudes, sometimes including audience members (Goldfarb, 1980; Kaplan, 1992; Wicke, 1992). Finally, musical performances can be the occasion for party members (nonmusicians) to distribute pamphlets explaining their views (Firth and Street, 1992), a first step toward gaining support.

It is not just at a cognitive, intellectual level that art mobilizes protest (Chaffe, 1993; Denisoff, 1983:5; Qualter, 1963:99). Song and other art forms help to recruit individuals into a specific movement because they provide reassuring emotional messages (Jasper, 1998), tap into the spirituality of potential recruits and activists (Sanger, 1997), reinforce the value structure of individuals who are active supporters of social movements (Denisoff, 1983), lend authority to a movement (Jasper, 1998), and provide a renewed feeling that social and political change is possible (Staggenborg *et al.*, 1993–1994).

Third, art is useful to movements because it keeps people active in and committed to a movement once they have already joined (Chaffe, 1993:16; Eyerman and Jamison, 1998; Jasper, 1998; Murray, 1991; Sanger, 1997). Part

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of the reason why people continue to work in movements is that collective artmaking helps them develop bonds with other movement members (Jasper, 1997:193; Pratt, 1992; Staggenborg *et al.*, 1993–1994). Music can create solidarity (Denisoff, 1983; Eyerman and Jamison, 1998; Jasper, 1998; Kaplan, 1992), as can dance (Jasper, 1997) and street festivals (Kaplan, 1992). Art also keeps people in movements by creating a feeling of group unity (Denisoff, 1983; Falasca-Zamponi, 1997:5; Jasper, 1997, 1998; Neustadter, 1992; Sanger, 1997) and collective identity (Eder *et al.*, 1995; Eyerman and Jamison, 1998; Falasca-Zamponi, 1997; Jasper, 1997; Kaplan, 1992; Neustadter, 1992; Pratt, 1992; Sanger, 1997; Staggenborg *et al.*, 1993). Art and music contribute to the creation of comfortable feelings of "insiderness" (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998; Firth and Street, 1992; Jasper, 1998; Vila, 1992).

Fourth, art and music are important in generating resources, both financial resources (Sanger, 1997) and outside support for movements (Denisoff, 1983; Qualter, 1963). In addition, music attracts people into the broader culture and changing popular mores and tastes (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998). This music from old social movements can be a way to inspire new ones (Ruzza, 1997).

Fifth, a movement's music prolongs a movement's impact after the movement is over by diffusing into the broader culture and changing popular mores and tastes (Eyerman, 1996; Eyerman and Jamison, 1998; Marcuse, 1969).

Finally, art can stir up emotions that are useful to movements in several of the above ways (Chaffe, 1993:4; Jasper, 1997; Sanger, 1997). Song can allow people to express feelings (e.g., excitement and fear) and as such can be more effective than speech (Jasper, 1998). It can help remove emotions such as fear or despair, which are not useful for a movement (Denisoff, 1983; Eyerman and Jamison, 1998; Morris, 1984:56; Qualter, 1963; Sanger, 1997). Song can lend emotional tonality, and rhythmic and musical sonority, to a movement (Heau Lambert and Gimenez, 1997). Finally, music can be a source of strength (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998), courage (Denisoff, 1983; Sanger, 1997), and hope for a happier future (Qualter, 1963:99). It can reinforce energies (Garofalo, 1992a; Pratt, 1992), produce pleasure (Jasper, 1998), and create collective effervescence (useful to movements) "by transporting participants onto another plane, into what they feel is a more ethereal, or at any rate different, reality" (Jasper, 1997:118).

A number of authors have explored the effectiveness of art as an oppositional tool in authoritarian regimes. Art, they suggest, can be the locus of an oppositional voice (Chaffe, 1993:16; Vila, 1992). It can convey meaning and values that shape behavior imperceptibly, leading to the erosion of totalitarian regimes (Wicke, 1992). Art can indicate to nonmovement members that there is an active opposition movement, and this can be a way for a

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movement to threaten the regime; as such the artwork breaks the complicity of silence (Chaffe, 1993). Street art under authoritarian regimes "connotes an activist, collective sense. In essence, it becomes a form of psychological warfare against the dominant culture and elite and reveals an emerging subterranean movement. This is threatening because it connotes a prelude to an organized opposition, or the existence of one . . . The act [of producing street art] symbolizes a culture of resistance exists that dictators pretend to ignore" (Chaffe, 1993:30). Finally, control over artistic production in authoritarian regimes influences the form art takes (Szemere, 1992; Wicke, 1992).

One final area in the study of music and political power focuses on reception. Pratt (1992:8) suggests that musical meanings are established in a process of dialogue over the "text" between performer and audience. The political functions of music depend on what is made of it. According to Pratt (1992:5) "Any music may potentially serve significant critical and even radically transformative functions. The degree to which it does so depends significantly on the dynamic interaction between the work itself and the way it is received."

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Pinochet regime (1973–1990) was a time of widespread political repression, the implementation of neoliberal economic policies, and periodic bouts of widespread unemployment. A prodemocracy movement, consisting of hundreds of SMOs operating in a clandestine or semiclandestine fashion, arose early on. What united these SMOs was the desire for a return to democracy, and a willingness to help the various victims of the regime. They included clandestine political parties, survival organizations (helping with economic problems in the shantytowns), women's organizations, and human rights organizations. One of the most prominent was the "Vicaría de la Solidaridad" (Vicariate of Solidarity), set up by the Catholic Church. Funded by the Church, CARITAS, foreign aid agencies, foreign churches, and its sale of artwork and handicrafts, the Vicaría worked to help a variety of the regime's victims, ranging from the unemployed to the tortured. Its programs included therapeutic and medical help for victims of torture or disappearance,[7] soup kitchens, unemployment groups, and craft workshops.

The Vicaría staff consisted mainly of middle-class professionals, for the most part Marxists who had lost their jobs in the Allende government

[7]Many families had a relative "disappear," i.e. kidnapped and never seen again.

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or whose university qualifications obtained under Allende were no longer considered of value. This was the time of Liberation Theology,[8] and the Vicaría's employees, although they differed in their views about what the Vicaría's goals should be, were keen to help the poor and victims of human rights abuses, whilst educating politically.[9] One of the ways they did so was by setting up arpillera workshops to enable shantytown women to earn an income.[10] Arpilleras are appliqué pictures in cloth, usually depicting the hunger, lack of jobs, and political repression in the shantytowns. A typical arpillera would show a soup kitchen, a shantytown raid by soldiers, unsuccessful job hunting, and protests.

The Vicaría recruited into the workshops shantytown women who were having difficulty feeding their families because their husbands were unemployed. As well as being poor, these women were the victims of intense repression: shantytown raids by the military, water and electricity cuts, and periodic roundups of their family members. Twenty or so of these women met in the workshops (typically in a local church building), three afternoons a week. Arpillera workshops took place all over Santiago (where there were approximately 200 groups), and in nearby towns. As the activity of arpillera-making was considered subversive, the meetings and arpillera-making were kept secret. Other victims of the regime (such as the relatives of the disappeared), and activists occasionally visited the workshops. Usually a Vicaría employee was present, directing the arpillera-making, teaching the women how to make the arpilleras, telling them what to depict, communicating foreign buyers' orders to them, and ensuring that these orders were carried out (with a system of "quality control").

The Vicaría employees also encouraged discussion about political events, or gave talks about the political and economic situation, human rights, and women's rights. Although education was an important part of the arpillera workshops, the two most important functions of the arpillera from the Vicaría's point of view were to provide an income for the women, and to educate buyers abroad about the goings-on in Chile.

The arpillera-making and export were clandestine. The women met in secret, hid the arpilleras under their skirts when they took them to the central Vicaría office, and the Vicaría exported them by getting them through

[8]Liberation theology, which started in the late 1960s in Latin America, was an ideology of progressive Christian theologians and activists, which stressed helping the oppressed, in particular the poor and politically oppressed, in the name of social justice.

[9]The Vicaría did not have a clear strategy. Interviews with its employees revealed that there was much conflict over whether they should focus on political education, teaching the Christian doctrine, or merely helping economically. There was also furious debate over whether or not to teach the people with whom they worked about women's rights.

[10]Other organizations (NGOs and Christian organization) also set up arpillera groups, but the Vicaría organized far more groups and bought far more arpilleras than any other institution.

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Fig. 1. An arpillera workshop.

customs at the airport thanks to a secret chain of contacts who were sympathetic to their cause.

The vast majority of the arpilleras were exported. Their buyers included nongovernmental organizations, human rights organizations, and groups of Chilean exiles, in Europe and North America; these institutions in turn would sell them to the public. As the Vicaría saw it, buyers bought to express solidarity with the cause.

> Basically they [the arpilleras] were bought by solidarity groups, it was a bit like a chain of solidarity. Those people also wanted to know what was happening in Chile.
>
> Victoria, a Vicaría employee

The arpilleras' audience was not limited to people who bought, however; it also included a wider public. Some human rights organizers and sympathetic individuals in Europe and the United States collected together a large number and made exhibitions out of them, sending them out on tour

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to university campuses, or renting them out to schools and human rights campaigns. Within Chile there were almost no buyers; just the occasional sympathetic tourist who had heard about them and found their way to the Vicaría's office, and the occasional movement sympathizer.

METHODS

My data are based on in-depth interviews in England, Switzerland, and Chile, and a year's ethnographic fieldwork in arpillera workshops in working-class neighborhoods of Santiago. Most of the interviews I conducted in Europe (over a period of 2 months) were with people who had been exiled from Chile, had had a relative kidnapped and disappeared, had sold arpilleras to the public, or had used them in human rights campaigns. During my year in Chile (July 1995–July 1996) I carried out in-depth interviews with 136 arpilleristas (arpillera-makers), Vicaría employees, and other people connected in different ways with the arpillera. The interviews focused on finding out how the Vicaría and workshops functioned, why and how people became involved, and what impact this had on them. Interviewing about the past is always problematic because of selective recall. However, there was enough similarity among different people's responses to be able to make claims about what workshops, family life, and the political and economic environment were like at the time.

As well as interviewing, I carried out participant observation with six groups. For this paper, I focus on the participant observation fieldnotes of one arpillera group that, since 1978, had worked closely with the Vicaría in a shantytown in the South of Santiago (Sta. Alicia). I chose to focus on this group because it was typical of groups that worked with the Vicaría; its members were wives of unemployed men who suffered the repression and economic deprivation (as opposed to individually directed attacks such as disappearances) that all shantytown people suffered. I sat with the group at all its weekly meetings and attended all its important events (e.g., a Christmas market in the center of Santiago). At first I adopted more of an observer role, but over time I became active in helping to make arpilleras.

For this paper I also use the fieldnotes from participant observation I carried out for much shorter periods with two other, very similar groups; one in another shantytown in the South of Santiago, and the other approximately 40 min away by car. This last group consisted of the leaders of seven groups that were scattered around the East of Santiago. I coded both the participant observation notes and interviews myself and analyzed them using a grounded theory approach.

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Although I did not carry out the participant observation during the dictatorship (which ended in 1990), the group meetings were the occasion of frequent conversations about the period, other groups, one's family, and arpillera-making. The attitudes of the women in the workshops had changed since the end of the regime, but the workshops functioned in much the same way, so there was still a great deal to be learned by observing them. Because I carried out the fieldwork in 1995–1996, readers might want to see my methodology as a case of oral history informed by participant observation.

Finally, I examined approximately 500 arpilleras and photographs of arpilleras. They were made by the shantytown women, but the women were told by the Vicaría employees what to depict (and given some leeway); as such, these arpilleras were a valuable source of data on the Vicaría's framing efforts, the customers' demands, and the women's experiences.[11]

THE ARPILLERA'S ROLE IN THE PRODEMOCRACY MOVEMENT

An examination of the arpillera case suggests that movements can use art for framing, to mobilize resources, to communicate information about themselves, and as a symbol. They also use art to arouse emotions in people, useful for many of the above processes. The approach of social movement theorists is very rationalistic; I wish to highlight the importance of emotion in organizing, and will do so by weaving it in as a theme in the sections that follow.

Art as a Framing Device

To achieve its goal of bringing about the return to democracy and helping the regime's victims, the prodemocracy movement needed to show that the regime caused suffering for many people, and consequently that democracy was desirable. Its framing work was directed at people both within and outside Chile. The arpilleras helped carry out this framing work in three ways.

The Arpilleras Provided Information About the Bad Conditions of Life in Chile

The arpilleras, first, informed buyers in Europe and North America that the conditions in Chile were terrible.

[11] It is impossible to know who the makers of the arpilleras shown in this paper are, because the collectors who allowed me to photograph them did not know. However, they are all photos of arpilleras made by shantytown women, and bought by the Vicaría for export.

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Fig. 2. Arpillera depicting a shantytown raid.

They showed that people were suffering from hunger, unemployment, human rights abuses, and shantytown raids.[12] This information was censored out of the official Chilean media, and was difficult to obtain by other means. By stressing these aspects of Chilean life the movement could make a convincing case that its goals were worthwhile and should be supported. Second, the arpilleras showed that Pinochet's claims about bringing order to Chile were false. Rather than order, what reigned was disorder.

These arpilleras work at an emotional as well as cognitive level. The images are moving, and the Vicaría directed the women to produce arpilleras that would pull on people's heartstrings. Figure 3 inspires pity by showing small children with forks in their hands as they wait for the food from the soup kitchen; a woman in the soup kitchen who, in despair, covers her face with her hands and says "There won't be enough [food]"; and a woman raising her arms in desperation as she tells her husband to find work. Figure 2 shows a person being beaten by a soldier (blood oozes out of the head), and people being blown away by the force of the water coming from the "guanaco." Several other aspects of the arpilleras were moving: the materials, including in many cases the use of the women's own hair, connoted poverty. The crudity (spelling mistakes, childish figures, incorrect perspective) connoted a lack of education, and sophistication, and hence also sincerity. The

[12]These aspects of life were not "the way things were" but the movement's vision of the way things were. Many middle- and upper-class Chileans would have portrayed different aspects of Chilean life because they would have seen Pinochet as having brought order to the country.

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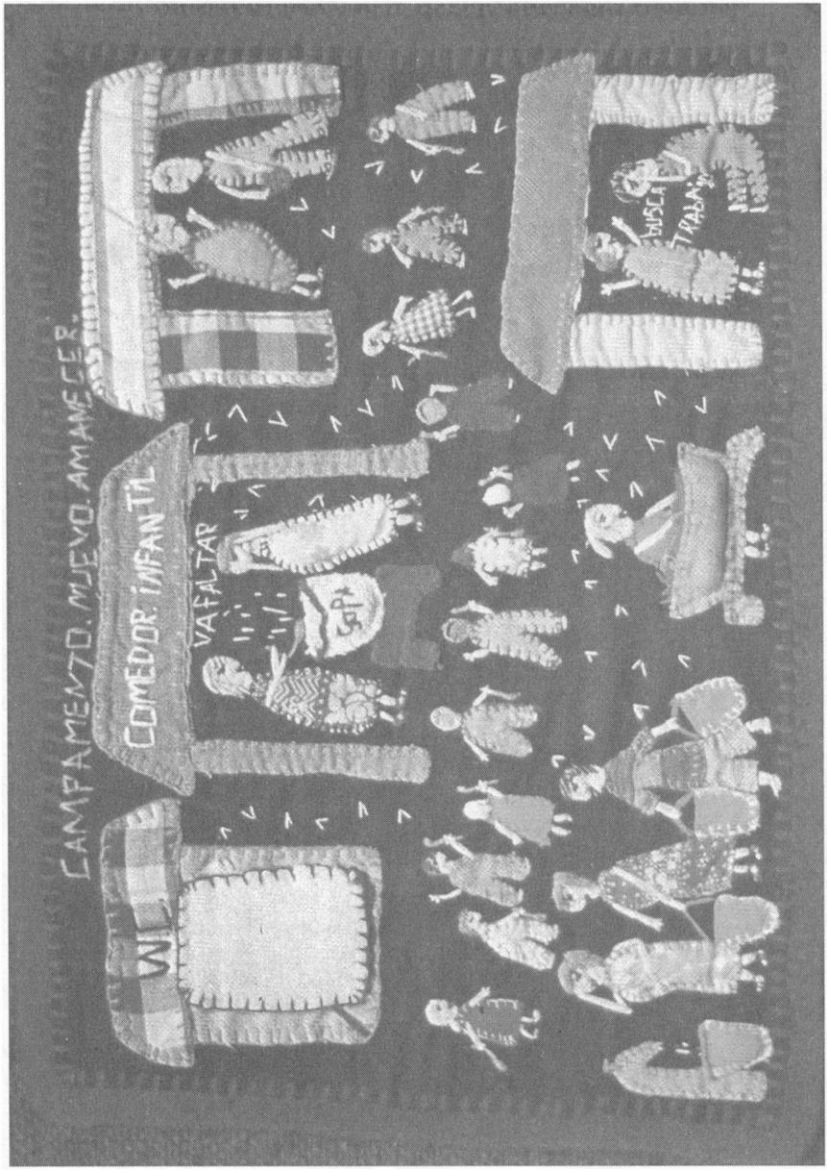

Fig. 3. Arpillera depicting a soup kitchen.

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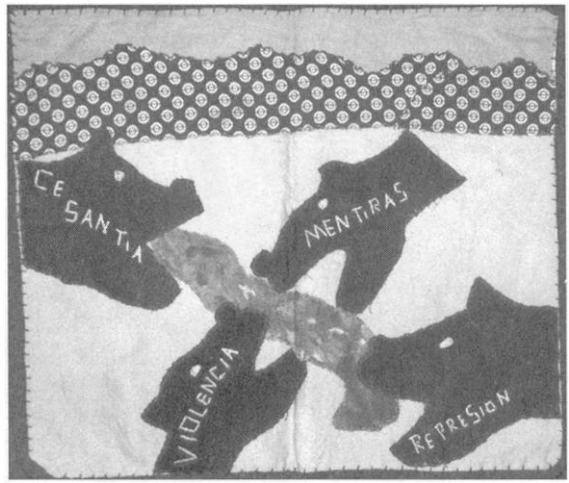

Fig. 4. Four dogs tear Chile apart.

fact that the arpilleras were made by women struggling to feed their families was poignant.

The arpilleras portrayed the situation in Chile in a symbolic as well as a literal way. In the following arpillera four vicious dogs representing unemployment, violence, repression, and lies tear Chile apart.[13] The arpillera suggests that Chile is being devoured by social problems. Here, the appeal works at both the cognitive and emotional levels (the dogs' actions are somewhat fearsome).

The arpillera was doubly useful as a framing device because the person selling it often used it as a starting point for conversation about the problems in Chile. As Brigita, the daughter of a Chilean exile, selling arpilleras in Holland explained:

> There were also several [Church] masses to help Chile, things like that, and on one side of the church they put the tables and you would sell arpilleras there. Lots of people went, and they would notice the little dolls [figures on the arpilleras] and would say "how nice, but what is it really about?" So we would start to explain that it was not just about some little dolls, but we would explain all that was happening at that time in Chile. Each arpillera told a tale, a story. So we would explain what each arpillera meant and people liked that a lot and they started to buy them.

Salespeople like Brigita helped with the movement's framing work by explaining to foreigners what the pictures meant. Emotion played a part here,

[13]The bone-like object is in fact Chile as it appears on a map.

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Fig. 5. Arpillera depicting the four Horsemen of the Apocalypse descending on the Presidential Palace in flames (it was bombed on the day of the coup d'état).

again, as Pedro, speaking about his experience selling arpilleras in France, suggests:

> I think . . . via the arpilleras a fairly . . . human contact was achieved . . . And I always remember, a mother and her daughter, for example, to whom I read a message that said, "we don't have enough to eat. We have to go around picking up cardboard," for example, ah? A mother telling this story to her daughter . . . The arpillera was a marvelous way to bring two people together—the one who is looking at the arpillera, the Frenchman far away, eh? Comfortably off, not suffering any human rights violations, or of lack of material means—to bring them close to this reality, and talk to them, and say to them "I lived this, I was a prisoner, I was in a torture chamber, I was there, I have been with the people who make these arpilleras."

The salesperson served as interpreter, reading out the moving messages on the arpilleras, which a buyer might then discuss with whoever was with her. At the same time, the salesperson might recount a moving tale of his or her own experience. This served to make the suffering in Chile very real and alive for the buyers. It also inspired feelings of connectedness with the victims of the regime, in a way that printed statistics could not. In these different ways, then, the Vicaría used the arpillera as a framing device, to convince people that the conditions of life in Chile under Pinochet were intolerable, and that something must be done.

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The Arpilleras Portrayed the Antagonist as Evil

The arpilleras portrayed Pinochet's government as evil and incompetent. Artwork can ridicule an antagonist by using a mocking, cartoon-like image, or portray him or her as evil by using a symbol of evil. In one arpillera the military coup was portrayed as the four horsemen of the Apocalypse attacking the presidential palace, bursting into flames. Here the arpillerista[14] has identified the enemy with an archetype that is widely recognized as personifying evil.[15] This is an example of what analysts of social movements have called "belief amplification" (Snow *et al.*, 1997), or the emphasizing of stereotypical beliefs about the antagonist. This arpillera would have been an effective framing device partly because of its emotional impact. The familiar image of the presidential palace,[16] going up in flames, would have inspired horror (for Chileans). The jagged lines, violent colors, and descending swoop of the four horsemen contribute to making up a fearful, dramatic image. Part of the arpillera's impact would also have come from its Christian theme, which would have resonated with the buyers, most of whom lived in countries in which Christian values were dominant. Martin Luther King also used familiar Christian themes that were effective because they were grounded in one of the ideational bedrocks of American culture (McAdam, 1996).

Why was portraying the antagonist in this way effective? By using arpilleras to define the situation in its own terms, the movement acquired power. This tactic is similar to labeling, as described by Jasper (1997:11) in his study of the antinuclear power and animal rights movements, "Naming is a central activity of any movement, for attaching labels to activities and aspects of the world around us helps us change our minds, see new vistas, and rearrange our feelings about others." Such naming of the nameless enables it to be thought, as Audre Lorde suggests. The arpilleras were in effect suggesting that dangerous, evil chaos reigned in Chile.

The Arpillera Workshops as Sites of Socialization into a Movement's Way of Thinking

A final way in which movements use art for framing purposes is by engaging new recruits in the collective making of art (Adams, 2000). Here,

[14] Arpillera-maker.

[15] Similarly, in medieval and early Renaissance Italy an individual or group was identified, in a painting or sculpture, with an archetype. A patron, for example, might be identified with virtues or vices, and with highly charged historical and/or fictional individuals, such as Caesar; the enemy might be identified with the devil (Rosenberg, 1990).

[16] The presidential palace is to the Chileans roughly what the White House is to the Americans.

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the targets of the framing work are the new recruits. The Vicaría used the arpillera workshops as a forum for socializing potential recruits into the ideas of the movement, and involving them in collective action. It organized talks about the political situation, encouraged the women to share their grievances and use the arpilleras to relate these grievances, and put pressure on them (in the later years of the regime) to participate in protests. As a result of joining the art workshops, the shantytown women came to think along Marxist lines (like the Vicaría employees), denounce the regime, participate in protests and other shantytown organizations, and help the victims of protests. A further result of the Vicaría's framing efforts was that the women developed an activist identity. As Oliver and Marwell (1992:252) state, "We believe that activist commitment comes from the creation of an activist identity through a progressive socialization process involving the creation of solidary ties." See Adams (2000) for a further discussion of this topic.

Art as a Tool for Resource Mobilization

The arpilleras were one means the Vicaría had of mobilizing resources. An important resource was money. Members of the movement (often Chilean exiles) who sold the arpilleras at church meetings, craft markets, or political events in Europe and America would send the money back to the Vicaría, which used it to pay the women and run its programs.

Emotion played an important role in this process. As Pedro (who sold arpilleras in France) suggests, one reason people bought was because they were *moved* by the arpilleras:

> I remember that a lot of people bought even without knowing where, where they were going to put the arpillera, but just for the principle of it. Lots of people would say to me, "let's see, which one do you like?" "It doesn't matter. Any one," I would say. [They would say:] "I want to buy something for these, for these people."

The spontaneity of the buying (without knowing where they would put the arpillera), and the indifference as to which arpillera to buy, suggests an impulsive gesture motivated more by emotions than by rational calculations. It is possible that some buyers were already aware of the problem and predisposed. But the arpillera, with its crudeness connoting sincerity and poverty, was a gateway to the heart. The emotions the arpilleras conjured up, then, were useful for the movement's mobilizing of financial resources.

A second resource (or resource bundle) was hope and determination. The arpilleristas took people's buying their work as an indication that these people cared about them (that they were "*solidarios*" [solidary], as they put it), and as an indication that they had the support of the international

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community. This, they claim, was tremendously important to them, as it gave them hope, and motivated them to keep on with the struggle.

A third resource coming from the sale and exhibition of arpilleras was political pressure from abroad. Many human rights groups in Europe and North America used the arpillera in campaigns, helping mobilize the international community against Pinochet. Anthony, an employee in a Chilean human rights organization in London said,

> I think people, over the years and years of campaigning and so on, they'd seen photographs, they'd seen . . . [so the human rights groups] were trying to give a more positive message, or give the same message, sometimes in a different way. And so this was a very useful medium, because you could mix it with photographs, things like that.

The arpilleras, then, contributed to gaining the support of the international community.[17]

Political pressure from abroad also came in the form of Chilean exiles' work to undermine the dictatorship and engineer the resistance movement. It is possible, although I do not have data on this, that the scenes in the arpilleras provided some of the energy and indignation necessary to keep them working against the dictatorship. Certainly, two of the most active groups of exiles in London, Chile Democrático, and the Chilean Committee for Human Rights, had arpilleras in their office, and produced cards with photos of arpilleras on them for sale.

Art as a Way of Communicating a Movement's Ethos

Art can communicate to the public the nature of a movement's ethos and modus operandi. The Chilean resistance movement had a very strong ethos of solidarity; its members believed that people should help each other, and they drew a contrast between solidarity and the competition and individualism that the regime fostered. Organizers of the resistance movement not only made efforts to behave in a solidary way toward others, they also taught the "doctrine" of solidarity to new movement recruits. One way the movement communicated this doctrine to sympathizers abroad was via the arpilleras, many of which made reference to solidarity (Figure 6).

[17] In doing so they had a similar role to the mass media, as described by McCarthy *et al.* (1996: 291): Convincing bystander publics (a fitting description for some arpillera buyers) is important because: "While movements' ultimate targets are typically policymakers, movements must mobilize people and resources within the wider society in order to influence this authoritative elite. These third parties include both the mass public and the reference elites, the people with whom the authoritative elite interacts and consults. A major tool in this process is the mass media, which can reach a much larger audience than social movement actors can reach directly." Although McCarthy *et al.* (1996) are talking about mass media, their statement applies equally to a movement's own media.

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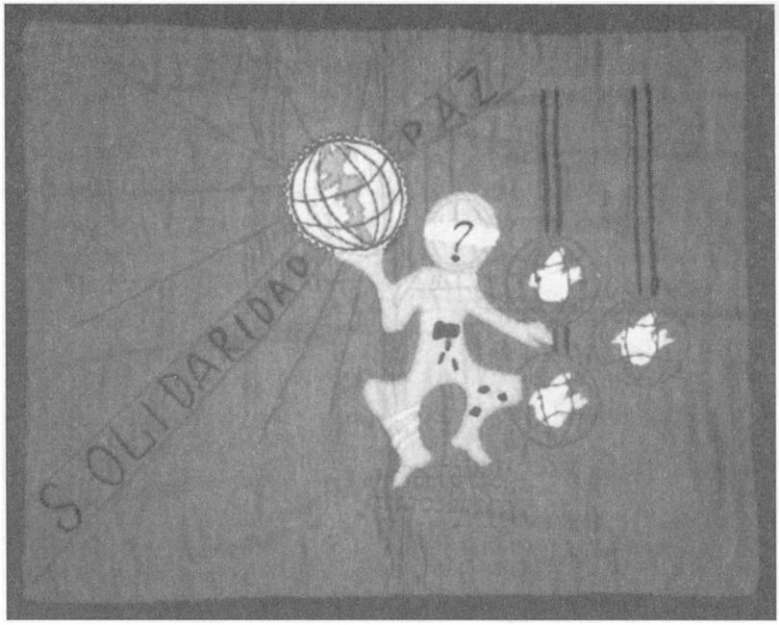

Fig. 6. Arpillera with the words "Solidarity" and "Peace".

Communicating an ethos to the public is important because it can be a way to erode the dominant ethos. As Wicke (1992:81) suggests about rock music in East Germany: "Music is a medium which is able to convey meaning and values which . . . can shape patterns of behavior imperceptibly over time until they become the visible background of real political activity. In this way, rock music contributed to the erosion of totalitarian regimes throughout Eastern Europe long before the cracks in the system became apparent." It is possible that the arpilleras helped erode the regime in the same way. The use of the arpilleras as producers of solidarity may be said to have opened up political opportunities, favorable to the movement. Moreover, by communicating its solidarity ethos, the movement was portraying itself in an attractive light, and also producing a message that resonated with the fundamentally Christian ideology of the societies in which the arpilleras were sold, enabling buyers to relate to the movement.

The Arpillera as a Symbol

The movement used the arpillera as a symbol of itself and of what it stood for. For the purposes of this paper, a symbol is a visual sign that

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represents an idea or body of ideas, without necessarily looking like the thing it represents. As Graciela, a Vicaría employee, said,

> The arpillera became a symbol of quite a large group of people who were at that time working, eh, socially, against the dictatorship. You understand? That was sort of the crucial thing.

The arpillera was also a symbol of suffering in Chile, the need to end the dictatorship, and solidarity. As a symbol, the arpillera was useful to the movement in three ways.

The Arpillera Served to Mark Membership in the Movement

In an environment where many people were pro-Pinochet, and might denounce you if you were not, the arpillera enabled people to understand, when they met a stranger, that the stranger was "on their side," a member of the movement in some way. As Graciela suggests,

> When someone had an arpillera in their house, you knew [partías de la base que] that the person was solidary. If you came to a house where there was an arpillera, you felt you could trust the person, you understand? I mean, it was obvious that you could trust them, because the person, supposedly, was solidary, the person had a way of thinking which was against the dictatorship, the person was taking action in some way so as to end this.

Knowing that someone was "on their side" enabled people to speak more freely.[18] As Graciela points out,

> I associate it with what the fish might have been in the time of the catacombs.[19] That is the symbolism, if you like. Of identification, of complicity . . . I mean, you did not know, sometimes, who you were talking to, for whatever reason—you found yourself forming new relationships. I, for example, moved house in '74. So you start to have new neighbors. And you have no idea who these neighbors are. I, personally, was in a really difficult situation because I was not living with my husband, my husband was in hiding, etc. And the fact that a neighbor—I saw, in a neighbor's house, an arpillera. In a totally new neighborhood. It was like: "ya!" I could be sure of everything, you understand? That here I can say what I want.

It is possible that people's feeling free to speak enabled information and ideas to travel around the prodemocracy community more easily. Also, because the arpillera was the marker of a similar worldview, it could have been the starting point for affective bonds. Emotional bonds are useful to movements, because they are a factor causing people to stay in movements (Flam,

[18] Paradoxically, the arpillera could also endanger the life of its owner, given that a soldier or spy might see it.

[19] Christians in Roman times used the symbol of the fish to mark themselves as holders of the Christian faith.

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1999), and because friendship ties among movement activists activate the obligations of each to the group (Schwartz and Shuva, 1992).

The Arpillera Kept Exiled Members Attached to the Movement

As a symbol, the arpillera was useful because it kept exiled members attached to the movement. When Chileans were exiled, those they left behind often gave them an arpillera as a present. Graciela describes

> *Graciela*: I was in exile 1981–1985. You saw that abroad, there was not one Chilean who did not have an arpillera. And I brought my arpillera. I mean, it was sort of inconceivable to think that you were not going to take it along, you understand? It was like . . .
> *Author*: Why did you take it?
> *Graciela*: Because it was a really important symbol. And because they gave it to me—when I went away they gave me one which was called—which was sort of about exile. They made one which was, eh, a farewell party, in a bar, really nice. So I had that one, and I had another one from Puente Alto [the arpillera group she worked with], which was—in which you saw, eh, a bit of what it had meant, our work in Puente Alto. I had both of these in my house in exile. And everyone, if you like, who was Left wing, had an arpillera in their house. Everyone. I mean, it was sort of a thing to value, perhaps, creativity, but also grassroots organizations[20] at the time. A symbol, a really important symbol.

Emotion plays an important role here, again. Graciela's tone suggests that she had a strong emotional attachment to arpilleras. This attachment, and the sight of the arpilleras on the walls of her foreign home, probably reminded her very frequently of the movement and its victims.[21]

The Arpillera Helped Label the Movement

As a symbol, the arpillera was useful because it served to label and lend coherence to the heterogeneous groups that made up the movement during protests.[22] One of the most important protests in Santiago occurred in the event of the funeral for the French priest, André Jarlan, who was murdered in the shantytown where he lived during a raid. Thousands of marchers took to the streets of Santiago; the front line marchers carried a huge arpillera with

[20]The grassroots organizations she refers to were organizations connected to the prodemocracy movement and survival. "Left wing" here implies sympathetic to the prodemocracy movement.

[21]The arpillera, then, was a transitional object; people held onto it because to do so was to hold onto people of the past and to look at it was to bring it all back.

[22]This holds true for one protest; there is no data to indicate that the arpillera was used this way multiple times.

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Fig. 7. Arpillera depicting a dove carried by front-line marchers in a protest.

an image of a dove. The people in the march would have been from different SMOs (human rights organizations, unemployed people's organizations, and clandestine political parties) within the prodemocracy community. The arpillera itself, and its image, signaled what this confusing mass of individuals stood for. It thus lent a unifying theme to the enormous diversity, and encapsulated the cause (peace). Its function was similar to that of Mussolini's symbols in Fascist Italy: "The possibility of unifying around national symbols ensured the cohesion of otherwise inchoate 'Masses,' their shaping into a homogeneous political body" (Falasca-Zamponi, 1997:5).

To label the mass was important so that onlookers understood what the protest was about. It was also important, particularly given the repressive nature of the regime, for the movement to make people not connected with it aware of its existence and identity so that they realized that there was dissatisfaction and a forum for acting on this dissatisfaction. Informing the public about one's existence is not the same as framing; it is not necessarily an act of convincing. In much the same way as a logo informs about the existence of a company, art can inform about the existence of a movement, such that when people see it they learn about or are reminded of the movement. As such, artwork performs a "name recognition" function (Chaffe, 1993).

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DISCUSSION

The Importance of Art for Movements

It is clear from this case that art can play a very important role in movements. It helps with framing, convincing buyers, viewers, and makers of the validity of the movement's cause; it helps mobilize resources, financial, political, and intangible (hope and determination); it is a vehicle whereby a movement can transmit information about its ethos and modus operandi; and it serves as a symbol of the movement. As such, it marks membership in a movement (thereby facilitating the circulation of information in a movement, and fostering bonding between members); it keeps movement members committed even when they are geographically removed from the movement; and it lends a movement a coherent identity and gives it name recognition. Finally, art helps conjure up emotions that are useful for all these processes.

Many of these functions are crucial for movement success. Indeed, art can help movements surmount the first four of six strategic hurdles (McAdam, 1996) that can prevent movements from becoming a force for social change: (1) Attract new recruits; (2) Sustain the morale and commitment of current adherents; (3) Generate media coverage, preferably, but not necessarily, of a favorable sort (here, the arpilleras were the movement's own medium); (4) Mobilize the support of various "bystander publics"; (5) Constrain the social control options of its opponents; and (6) Ultimately shape public policy and state action. As part of the cumulative effort of all the SMOs in the prodemocracy movement, the arpillera helped with (6). Art, then, can contribute to the success or failure of a movement.

How Focusing on Art Helps us Understand Other Movement Processes

The arpillera case does not only lead to insights about the role of art in social movements; it also provides a greater understanding of movements more generally, beginning with the important processes of framing and resource mobilization.

Framing

An examination of art in social movements suggests that it is not just a cognitive process that persuades people to believe their situation is unjust

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and worth struggling for as the framing literature suggests. People are also drawn to movements as a result of emotional processes.

Framing devices are understudied in the social movement literature. One important framing device is art, and more broadly, visual images. The arpillera case provides support for Szasz's claim about the importance of the "political icon" (Szasz, 1994). However, it also suggests that the concept of icon needs to be broadened to include images generated by the movement itself, and images that are in media (e.g. visual artwork) other than the pictorial mass media.

Furthermore, the arpillera case suggests that Szasz's conception of why images are increasingly used to form political opinion needs to be revised. Szasz (1994:62) suggests that iconography rather than rhetoric is used because the means of communication (e.g. television) require it stylistically, and because "it is assumed that displays of spectacular images are the only way to break through the indifference of the intended audience." The receiver of the message he has in mind is "addicted to the consumption of superficial imagery, habituated to a state of distraction, deaf to complexity and subtlety" (63). Szasz's assertion takes less account than it should of political context; it might apply more to developed and democratic societies than to other types of societies. Its possible that the arpilleras' audience fits Szasz' description of receivers, but this is not why the Vicaría made the arpillera its chosen vehicle of communication. Rather, the Vicaría, like many opposition groups in dictatorships, was faced with severe constraints on the kinds of media it could use. Not only were oppositional television and newspapers banned, but the Vicaría was limited by severe economic pressures (it had to produce cheap images), the limited skills of the makers of the images (many of whom could not write, meaning that simple pictures were the best form of communication), and a dangerous environment (which meant that only media that could be produced in a clandestine fashion were feasible). Political, economic, and skill-base constraints, then, can be the main reasons for having images as opposed to words, as a means of political communication.

Framing devices are shaped by the political context, the economic, educational status and gender of the makers of the device, and the audience. In a politically oppressive context, the vehicles on which the movement conveys its messages will not be posters, flyers, or newsletters, but instead objects with an innocent-looking appearance, carrying veiled messages. This way, the antagonist is less likely to identify them as defamatory, and those associated with them face less risk. The arpilleras were well-suited to these needs; if he didn't know what the arpilleras were, a policeman opening a box of arpilleras at the airport might at first glance assume they were innocent handicrafts. The economic and educational status of the makers of the framing device

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is equally important. The women's poverty had an impact on the form and content of the arpilleras. Because they lacked money, the women had to use sacking, old cloth, and their own hair as raw materials. Because they had lacked the resources for a good education, some did not know how to write very well; as a result, many arpilleras contained spelling mistakes. The gender of the makers shaped the framing device. It was because the arpilleristas were women, and because sewing is a typically "feminine" art, that the arpilleras were constructed out of thread, wool, and cloth. It was also partly because the arpilleristas were women, that the arpilleras so often depicted children and family problems (important concerns for shantytown women). Finally, the tastes of the audience shape the framing device. The arpilleras had to contain messages that were palatable to people. The Vicaría employees told the women not to put too much yellow in the arpilleras, for example, because they had heard that their buyers did not like yellow. Similarly, the arpilleras also had to be of a price people could afford and of a size people could manage for exhibition purposes.

The arpillera case teaches us that political context, economic considerations, and the gender of those at whom framing efforts are directed affect framing strategies. In democratic contexts, public strategies such as large-scale events, rallies, and sit-ins, are possible. However, dictatorships do not allow grouping together or protests of any sort, and impose a high degree of repression on the population, making such strategies impossible. Movements have to operate in a semiclandestine fashion, under the guise of an innocent activity such as an art workshop. Meetings will often be secret. The movement has to use someone in the local community whom the potential recruits trust, to help draw them into the movement (the Vicaría worked with local priests). The economic standing of those to whom the framing efforts are directed is also important. Where the target of framing efforts are shantytown dwellers with little or no income, framing work must occur in local shantytown buildings (because many shantytown inhabitants cannot afford bus fares), and preferably in a place where they feel safe from military raids, such as the church. Often a social movement will offer such recruits something in the way of income or training, to attract impoverished recruits. The gender of those to be socialized into the movement affects the framing strategy. As it was targeting women, the Vicaría had to attract the women by emphasizing something that was compatible with their role as mothers; it stressed that by joining the workshops they were going to earn money to feed their families. It also had to teach them something that they could conceive of doing, as women; this is partly why the Vicaría employees emphasized sewing as a technique. Lastly, it had to hold the workshops in a place the women felt comfortable going to, and where their husbands could trust them to go; hence the church buildings.

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Resource Mobilization

The arpillera case offers several insights into resource mobilization. First, contrary to the implicit assumptions of many resource mobilization theorists, people do not participate in or give support to a movement purely as a result of rational calculations. They do so in part as a result of emotional impulses; because they are moved by the plight of those the movement benefits.

Second, two important resources for movements are hope and determination. These are especially important in repressive societies; where protest is met by debilitating repression, it is especially hard to imagine that one's attempts to oust such a powerful antagonist could ever succeed. International support makes a victory seem attainable. Expressions of international solidarity provide activists with some of the hope and determination that ensures the continued life of the movement.

Finally, the mechanisms a movement uses to mobilize resources can be multifunctional; they also serve other purposes for the movement. The arpilleras were useful in framing as well as resource mobilization.

A Comment on the Political Process Model

Finally, the arpillera case sheds light on the political process approach,[23] which suggests that expanding political opportunities affect the ability of a social movement to achieve its aims, and that broader socioeconomic processes affect these opportunities. By focusing on art, we learn that the cultural production of meaning, knowledge, and solidarity also influences the opening up of political opportunities. It can do so first by bringing about in the actors involved a sense of "cognitive liberation" (McAdam, 1982), that is, a sense of the antagonist's system as wrong, and of themselves as having the right and the ability to assert themselves to change their lot. This new consciousness is what results from the framing work discussed above. Second, it can do so by conveying an ethos contrary to that of the antagonist. This ethos makes people conceive of (and perhaps desire) an alternative way of life, and thus creates "cracks in the system." Third, it can do so by arousing international political support, which puts pressure on the antagonist and raises the morale of the movement members. Finally, the creation of solidarity in

[23]The political process perspective (e.g. Browning *et al.*, 1984; McAdam, 1982) suggests that social movements succeed or fail in part as a result of the configuration of the political opportunity structure (and in part by the ability to convert political opportunities into organized protest). The political opportunity structure refers to the degree of openness of the political system; the degree of stability of political alignments; the presence or absence of alliances and support groups; the division within the elite or its tolerance for protest; and the policy making capacity of the government (Tarrow, 1988).

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particular can promote the stability of political alignments between SMOs (such political alignments are part of what is termed political opportunity) (Tarrow, 1988).

Other Facets of Social Movements

The arpillera case offers insights into numerous other facets of social movements. Emotions, aroused partly through art, are more important for movements than is usually assumed. They can be used, firstly, as a way of convincing people that a movement's cause is worthwhile and that they should support it (cf. Jasper, 1998). Second, emotion can be usefully aroused in resource mobilizing processes, resulting in people giving money to the movement. Third, emotion in the form of affective bonds between movement members can motivate them to stay in the movement. Fourth, emotional attachment to the symbols of the movement can keep geographically removed members committed to the movement (cf. Flam, 1990; Goodwin, 1997; Rupp and Taylor, 1987; Taylor, 1989). Fifth, if the movement is operating in a semiclandestine fashion, with transactions occurring in a very closed world, this can strengthen the emotional intensity for all involved, binding them to each other and the movement. Finally, the venting of emotion (e.g. via telling one's story in artwork) can be therapeutic for movement members.

Social movements have an ethos, a set of norms for ways of behaving and feeling, that is supposed to govern both the way people in the wider society behave toward each other, and the way people in the movement behave. This ethos is different from their goals or ideology. Artwork can inform about the ethos of a movement; images that refer to the ethos not only serve to communicate information about the movement, but also help "provide a visual script . . . conjure up new modes of thinking and conduct," providing a model of behavior for the wider society, as Bonnell (1997) describes for Bolshevik, Leninist, and Stalinist posters.

Movements use and need symbols. Symbols can mark membership in a movement, allowing information to circulate, and serving as a starting point for affective bonds; they keep people remembering and bonded to the movement, even when they are geographically removed; and finally they can serve as a label for the heterogeneous group that is the movement community.

Social movements need name recognition. Movements also need to be able to group the different SMOs together under one banner and have themselves recognized as one large oppositional movement. This finding provides additional evidence for McCarthy and Zald's (1977:1234) point: "Since SMOs within the same SMI compete with one another for resources,

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they are led to differentiate themselves from one another. The prior existence of skilled personnel and preexisting images are advantages in this process. In the same way that name recognition is useful to political candidates it is useful to SMOs when issue campaigns occur." However, name recognition is important for different reasons in repressive societies. Here, movements sometimes want the antagonist to know that there is dissent, and they want the public (with its potential adherents) to realize that there is a forum for expressing discontent.

Some recent work on social movements has focused on the impact of the media on movements (Gitlin, 1980; Kielbowicz and Scherer, 1986; Klandermans and Goslinga, 1996; McAdam *et al.*, 1996; McCarthy *et al.*, 1996). The main problems with this literature are that it assumes that media are mass media and ignores movements' own media (McCarthy *et al.*, 1996), it assumes a democratic context, it says little on the impact of news formats and styles, and it tends to depict the media as a detriment to the movement rather than an asset (cf. Gitlin, 1980). Much of what is discussed in the body of this paper, can be applied to a study of the media. The arpillera case can also be read as a case about a movement's *own* media.

Gender Implications

This case has a number of gender implications. First, "typically" feminine arts (such as appliqué) can be very powerful political tools. Second, maternal (caring) emotions (of the arpillera-makers and of the buyers) can be useful for movements, as we saw above. The shantytown women's maternal distress and concern for their families' welfare is in part what led them to create the arpilleras, useful for the movement in all the ways we have seen. The buyers' caring about the women led to them buy the arpilleras, and support anti-Pinochet efforts, bringing resources to the movement. Third, interestingly, a patriarchal organization such as the Catholic Church can (indirectly) give rise to a very feminine movement (with an ethic of caring, using women's art forms, staffed by women, and appealing to and using maternal emotions).

Music and Art

Music can perform many of the same functions as visual art for social movements. Both art and song make useful framing devices, working at both the cognitive and emotional levels. One difference as far as framing is concerned, however, is that visual artworks are less widely available to large numbers of people, given that there are always a finite number of them. Music can reach thousands by being diffused by radio, or at concerts. On

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the other hand, sending the music to a wider audience requires technology and resources that movements do not always have; without the technology, the audience has to be in the same space as the performers, which can be a constraint.

In another sense, however, music is less accessible than the visual arts. With music, people have to understand the language of the lyrics to understand the message. The visual arts on the other hand, can communicate via images, which are more universally understood, for example images of people in prison, or being shot. Visual symbols like the dove are often easily understood by widely different groups of people. There are no obvious symbols in music, and even when the lyrics contain symbolic references, these are not as universal as symbols in the visual arts.

In repressive regimes, the visual arts can carry more strongly oppositional messages, by virtue of the fact that they can remain unsigned. Even when art making is done in a group, it can be done in a group of people who trust each other, and the artwork can reach the public without the public knowing who made it. Music making cannot usually be an anonymous activity, if there is an audience (although it can do so if performed anonymously on radio or cassette). This implies that there is less scope for free expression.

The collective making of both art and music can be a site of socialization into a movement. Music making is a less obvious site than the collective making of certain visual arts, however. It is difficult to perform music in a group where everyone's sounds must be closely coordinated; but it is relatively easy to make artworks in a group, as each person can work on her own piece. Because the making of visual art can be easier than music making, art workshops might lend themselves better to recruiting and keeping people in a movement than would musical workshops. The shantytown women, for example, had never made anything artistic but knew how to sew, and it was easy for the Vicaría to get them involved in the group by telling them they would be sewing.

Art making (as opposed to music making) lends itself more easily to movement socialization in a number of other ways. The performance of music involves being in public, an exposure not everyone welcomes or is capable of, whereas making art can be done in private. With artmaking in a group ideological convergence is not necessary; each person can express herself in her own way. More ideological convergence is needed for music; the group has to decide on the lyrics that are acceptable. Eguiarte (forthcoming) points out that not making people agree on everything ideologically can lead to greater participation and easier integration into a movement, facilitating rather than creating barriers.

Both art and music can be tools for resource mobilization. Concerts, like the sale of artwork, can bring money and political support to a movement.

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Music cannot function as a symbol of affiliation as easily as art can. With art all that is required is that it (or reproductions of it) be bought and put on the wall. Music cannot be put up in that way and would have to be played for others to make the connection to movement affiliation. This can be done, however; "We Shall Overcome" is a song that many Americans recognize as symbolizing partisanship with rights-based movements.

Finally, a piece of visual artwork has more of an immediate effect than music. A painting or drawing can create an emotional impact in a second, whereas the music has to be listened through. For this reason, a piece of visual artwork can be a powerful and effective icon, whereas music cannot to such an extent.

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